Eighteenth Century in England', in *Recognitions: Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde*, ed. Colin Richmond and Isobel Harvey, Aberystwyth, forthcoming. I thank Dr Fitzpatrick for the opportunity to read the latter paper in manuscript.

25. Quoted in McLachlan, *English Education Under the Test Acts*, p. 213.
26. John P. Estlin, *Familiar Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, London, 1818, p. 119.
27. J.E. Cookson, *The Friends of Peace: Anti-War Liberalism in England, 1793–1815*, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 84–114. Many Rational Dissenters were among those writers and critics whom Cookson identified as Britain's first distinctively modern journalists. See also Jan Golinski, *Science as Public Culture: Chemistry and Enlightenment in Britain 1760–1820*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 50–76, for a comprehensive discussion of the dissemination of medical ideas in the Enlightenment.
28. For an excellent discussion of the role of candour in the literature of Rational Dissent, see in particular two recent studies: Alan Saunders, 'The State as Highwayman: From Candour to Rights', in *Religion and Religion*, pp. 196–355; and Martin Fitzpatrick, 'Varieties of Candour: Scottish and English Style', in *Enlightenment and Dissent*, 7 (1988), 35–56.
29. Aikin, *Letters*, p. 97. Cf. Percival's 'Praise when you May: Be candid when you can', in *A Father's Instructions*, p. 73.
30. Aikin, *Letters*, p. 97.
31. D.O. Thomas, *The Honest Mind: The Thought and Work of Richard Price*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 99–100. Cf. Alan Saunders, 'The State as Highwayman', p. 202.
32. Lincoln, *English Dissent*, p. 91.
33. McLachlan, *English Education Under the Test Acts*, p. 213.
34. John Taylor, *An Examination of the Scheme of Morality Advanced by Dr Hutcheson*, London, 1759, p. 43.
35. Thomas Reid, *Practical Ethics*, p. 111. For a similar distinction in Reid's predecessor Adam Smith, see *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, VII. i. 2–4 and iii. 1–3. For a discussion of this problem as it was taught in the Dissenting academies see John Prior Estlin, *Familiar Lectures*, pp. 62–74.
36. McLachlan, *Warrington Academy*, p. 49.
37. McLachlan, *ibid.*, p. 50. According to McLachlan, Aikin also read with his students Justinian's *Institutes;* see *English Education Under the Test Acts*, p. 215.
38. For a different interpretation of this point, see Robert Baker in *Codification of Medical Morality*, p. 201.
39. Cf. McLachlan, *English Education Under the Test Acts*, p. 215.
40. History had for many years been taught, but not systematically, at the Scottish universities and some Dissenting academies. See McLachlan, *Warrington Academy*, p. 30.

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

41 Samuel Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II, p. 147.

42. See McLachlan, *Warrington Academy*, p. 30. In the Preface to *The History and Present State of Electricity, With Original Experiments*, London, Joseph Priestley described his work as a philosophical history as opposed to a 'civil' history. The genre is interestingly discussed and its role in the development of modern science explained in Golinski, *Science as Public Culture*, pp. 78–9.
43. John Aikin, *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 234. In the background are Bacon's pronouncements on history, *Advancement of Learning*, pp. 74–82.
44. Joseph Priestley, *Lectures on History and General Policy* (Philadelphia, 1803, p. 14.
45. Priestley, *Lectures on History*, p. 14.
46. Perhaps the most innovative of the new Dissenting biographies was William Godwin's tribute to his wife, Mary Wollstonecraft. Cf. his *Memoirs of the Author of the Rights of Woman*, ed. and introd. by Richard Holmes, Harmondsworth, 1987.
47. Aikin, *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 233.
48. See Daniel Roche, 'Talent, Reason and Sacrifice: The Physician during the Enlightenment', in *Medicine and Society in France: Selections from the Annales. E.S.C.*, ed. R. Forster and O. Ranum, Baltimore, MD, 1980, p. 67, for a comparable account of the French medical profession during this period.
49. Joseph Johnson (1738–1809) was the patron and publisher of contemporary British liberals and radicals. Percival was an early member of his circle which included William Enfield, John Aikin Sr, Mrs Barbauld (Anna Letitia Aikin) and Thomas Henry. Later members of Johnson's influential coterie included such notables as Mary Wollstonecraft, Erasmus Darwin, William Blake, William Godwin, Thomas Paine and Joseph Priestley. For an account of Johnson's medical and scientific publishing, see Gerald P. Tyson, *Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher*, Iowa City, 1979, pp. 106–8.
50. Cookson, *The Friends of Peace*, p. 89.
51. Percival, *Memoirs*, p. xiii.
52. Percival, *ibid.*, p. xiii.
53. Percival, *ibid.*, p. xiv.
54. Percival, *ibid.*, p. xv.
55. Percival, *ibid.*, p. clii
56. McLachlan, *Warrington Academy*, p.115.
57. Percival, *Memoirs*, p. xvi.
58. Percival, *ibid.*, p. xiii. Percival's Edinburgh years also brought him into contact with Benjamin Franklin and, throughout his life, he corresponded with him as well as with Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush and other members of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.
59. Percival, *ibid.*, p. xiii.

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

60. McLachlan, *Warrington Academy*, p. 127.
61. McLachlan, *ibid.*, p. 123.
62. E.M. Brockbank, *'A Medical Statistician of a Century and a Half Ago'*, Manchester, 1934, p. 3.
63. Percival, *Memoirs*, p. lxxxv.
64. Beattie firmly criticized Hume for racism already in 1770 and, as Dugald Stewart pointed out, Robertson had published a sermon on the evils of slavery thirty years before Wilberforce approached him in the matter. Hume, 'Of National Characters', in *Political Essays*, ed. Knud Haakonssen, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 78–92. Beattie, *An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism*, Edinburgh, 1770, pp. 479ff. John Immerwahr, 'Hume's revised racism', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53 (1992), pp. 481–6. Stewart, *Biographical Memoir of Adam Smith*, in *Collected Works*, ed. Sir William Hamilton, 11 vols. [1854–60], Facsimile reprint with an Introduction by Knud Haakonssen, Bristol, 1994, Vol 10, p. 240.
65. Percival, *Memoirs*, p. xix.
66. Percival, *ibid.*, p. xxiv.
67. Percival, *Works*, Vol. 1, *Moral and Literary Dissertations*, p. 176.
68. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, p. 116.
69. Cf. Percival, *Works*, Vol. 4, *Essays, Medical, Philosophical and Experimental*, part 3 and see also R.W.G. Anderson and Christopher Lawrence (eds), *Science, Medicine and Dissent: Joseph Priestley (1733–1804)*, London, 1987.
70. Percival, *Memoirs*, p. xix.
71. See the works by Cookson and Golinski referred to in note 27 above.
72. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 118.
73. There has been a great deal of recent literature on the connection between organized charity and the development of eighteenth-century hospitals. See, for example, Guenter Risse's chapter on 'The Sick Poor and Voluntary Hospitals' in his *Hospital Life in Enlightenment Scotland*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 1–59; Robert Kilpatrick, '"Living in the Light": Dispensaries, Philanthropy and Medical Reform in Late Eighteenth-Century London', in *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Cunningham and Roger French, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 254–80, and Adrian Wilson, 'The Politics of Medical Improvement in Early Hanoverian London' in the same volume, pp. 4–39; John V. Pickstone, *Medicine and Industrial Society: A History of Hospital Development in Manchester and its Region, 1752–1946*, Manchester, 1985; Donna Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* Princeton, NJ, 1989; Roy Porter, 'The Gift Relation: Philanthropy and Provincial Hospitals in Eighteenth-Century England', in *The Hospital in History*, ed. Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter, London, 1989, pp. 147–78; Mary E. Fissell, *Patients, Power, and the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Bristol*, New York, 1991, pp. 74–93.

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

74. Risse, *Hospital Life in Enlightenment Scotland*, p. 13.
75. William Robertson's role in the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland* is noted by Dugald Stewart in his *Biographical Memoir of Adam Smith*, 1960, p. 240. Pringle, the dedicatee of Gregory's *Lectures*, was a prominent reformist physician whose work on military disease the young doctors admired and wished to emulate. He was also a Unitarian, a Baconian, and a leading member of the Dissenting intellectual network. Scotland had embarked on its own demographic scheme which culminated in 1792 with Sir John Sinclair's great *Statistical Accounts of Scotland* and Percival's Edinburgh mentor, William Robertson, was a central figure in the promotion and execution of this project, to which also Thomas Reid contributed through a notable account of Glasgow. There is evidence that both Robertson and William Cullen actively encouraged their students to pursue statistical activities.
76. Percival, *Works*, Vol. 4, p. 17.
77. Percival, *ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 16.
78. Price was a close friend of Percival's. Percival eventually presented his population figures to the Royal Society in 1775; see Brockbank, *Statistical Society*, p. 17.
79. Brockbank, *Statistical Society*, p. 18.
80. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 136.
81. Quoted in Brockbank, *Sketches of the Lives and Work of the Honorary Medical Staff of the Manchester Infirmary*, p. 99.
82. Francis M. Lobo, 'John Haygarth, Smallpox and Religious Dissent in Eighteenth-Century England', in *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 217–53.
83. Lobo, 'John Haygarth', p. 252.
84. Lobo, *ibid.*, p. 252.
85. Cf. Porter, 'The Gift Relation', p. 150.
86. Risse, *Hospital Life*, p. 12.
87. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 119.
88. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 119.
89. Percival, *Works*, Vol. 1, *A Father's Instructions*, pp. 318–19.
90. Percival, *ibid.*, Vol. I, *A Father's Instructions*, pp. 319–22.
91. Cf. J. Aikin, *Thoughts on Hospitals, with a Letter to the Author by Thomas Percival*, London, 1771, p. 5.
92. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 118.
93. Percival, *ibid.*, pp. 135–6.
94. Quoted in Porter, 'The Gift Relation', p. 163.
95. Porter, *The Hospital in History*, p. 154.
96. Aikin, *Thoughts on Hospitals*, p. 79.
97. Mary E. Fissell, *Patients, Power and the Poor in Eighteenth–Century Bristol*, New York, 1991, pp. 148–70.
98. Aikin, *Thoughts on Hospitals*, p. 19.
99. For Percival's theory of disease see also M. De Lacey, *Prison Reform in*

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

Lancashire 1700–1850, Manchester, 1986, p. 58.

100. Quoted in Brockbank, *Sketches*, p. 101. Percival's politics were not considered to be radical by his contemporaries. He was, according to his son, 'a temperate and constitutional Whig', *Memoirs*, p. ccxxxvi.
101. Percival, *Memoirs*, p. cxcviii.
102. *Ibid.*, p. cxcix.
103. See, for example, R.K. Webb, 'Southwood Smith: The Intellectual Sources of Public Service', in *Doctors Politics and Society: Historical Essays*, ed. Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, Amsterdam, 1993, pp. 46–80.
104. George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, ed. W.J. Harvey, Harmondsworth, 1985, p. 178.
105. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 3.
106. For example, J.L. Berlant's account of Percival's *Ethics*, in *Profession and Monopoly*, pp. 65–127.
107. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, pp. 45–6; italics. added.
108. William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 vols, Oxford, 1765–9, Vol. 3, p. 163.
109. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. 3, p. 164.
110. Reid, *Practical Ethics*, p. 238.
111. Reid, *ibid.*, p. 238.
112. Knud Haakonssen, 'From Natural Law to the Rights of Man: A European Perspective on American Debates', in *A Culture of Rights: The Bill of Rights in Philosophy, Politics and Law, 1791 and 1991*, ed. Michael Lacey and Knud Haakonssen, Cambridge, 1991, p. 37, and *idem*, Introduction to Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 66–8 and 70–1.
113. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, pp. 177–8.
114. Cf. for example, Chapman, *Physicians, Law and Ethics*, p. 80, and Robert Baker, *Deciphering Percival's Code in the Codification of Medical Morality*, pp. 179–211. Baker attributes to Percival ethics what he calls a 'Gisbornean societal professional contract that converts medical practitioners into quasi-public servants' (p. 200). Gisborne, however, like Percival and most other contemporary British moralists, drew on the Protestant Natural Law tradition which was, as I have attempted to show, the prevalent moral philosophy of this period. Like Percival, Gisborne was not an original philosopher.
115. William Paley, *Moral and Political Philosophy*, Preface, p. vii, *The Works of William Paley*, 2 vols, London, n.d., Vol. I.
116. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 1.
117. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 135.
118. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 1.
119. See Percival, *Works*, Vol. II, *Moral and Literary Dissertations*, pp. 41–2 and p. 195.
120. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 139.
121. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 140.

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

122. Percival, *ibid.*, pp. 4–5. The aphoristic form was traditionally used in the learned physician's commentaries on such earlier writers as Hippocrates or Galen.
123. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 6.
124. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 7.
125. Brockbank, *Sketches*, p. 87.
126. Percival, *Memoirs*, p. ccix.
127. From James Thomson's 'Castle of Indolence', Canto II, as quoted in *Medical Ethics*, p. 116.
128. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, pp. 117–34.
129. Percival, *ibid.*, pp. 120–4.
130. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 128.
131. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 127.
132. Percival, *ibid.*, pp. 197–8.
133. Percival, *ibid.*, pp. 196–7.
134. Cf. the interesting discussions of the religious and political implications of smallpox inoculation by F.M. Lobo, 'John Haygarth, Smallpox and Religious Dissent in Eighteenth-Century England' and A. Wilson, 'The Politics of Medical Improvement in Early Hanoverian London', in Cunningham and French (eds), *The Medical Enlightenment*, pp. 217–53 and 4–39.
135. Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark*, Harmondsworth, 1987, p. 116.
136. See Christopher Lawrence, 'Ornate Physicians and Learned Artisans, Edinburgh Medical Men, 1726–1776', in W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds), *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 170.
137. Gregory, *Lectures*, p. 60.
138. Gregory, *ibid.*, p. 4. It is likely that Gregory was referring to reports of government interference in Continental countries. Later literature on this subject refers specifically to edicts which demanded that all physicians administer certain medicines and exclude others. Thomas Gisborne, for example, offers several examples in his chapter 'On the Duties of Physicians', of 'irrational interference' by the Spanish government in medical matters which tended to 'depress the science and its professors'. See Gisborne, *Duties of Men*, p. 384.
139. Gregory, *Lectures*, p. 219.
140. See for example his comparison of the aristocrat and the merchant in *A Father's Instructions*, *Works*, Vol. I, pp. 81–2.
141. William Brockbank, *Portrait of a Hospital, 1752–1948*, Toronto, 1952, pp. 35–6.
142. Samuel Richardson, *Sir Charles Grandison*, Oxford, 1986, p. 465.
143. Paley, *Moral and Political Philosophy*, pp. 1–2. Cf. J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1688–1832*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 115.
144. T. Gisborne, *The Principles of Moral Philosophy Investigated*, London,

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